Our Last Chance in The Congo, Pps. 2-3

The New Year Begins With Two Hopeful Harbingers for A More Peaceful World

The two most hopeful events in the week before we went to press were grossly underplayed in the press. One was the news that the State Department was closing down its special office for the MLF; its head, Gerard C. Smith, had already left the government. This marks the end of the campaign for this nuclear monstrosity. The other was the announcement Dec. 30 by Senator Russell of Georgia that the Senate Armed Services Committee he heads would hold hearings soon on Vietnam and the Congo. "It would be nothing less than a tragedy," he said, "for us to go and get involved in the Congo as we are in Vietnam." Of Vietnam he remarked, "I thought we made a terrible mistake in getting involved" and he said "the time is about at hand when we must reevaluate our position." President Johnson likes to "touch bases" with key figures in the power structure before embarking on major policy changes. Russell was at the LBJ ranch Nov. 25. This is no longer Morse and Gruening calling for peace from the periphery of the Senate. This is the most powerful figure in the Senate establishment speaking.

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LBJ's Great Society — and Mrs. Fannie Hamer's

The first full Johnson Administration has made an auspicious start. Even before the Inaugural, there were reassuring portents for better international relations: the deflation of the campaign for an MLF, the discouragement of plans for widening the Vietnamese war, the announcement that we would negotiate a new treaty with Panama. The Inaugural set a useful precedent in picking prime TV time for the President's message; there is no reason why that communications wasteland should not be commandeered more often. The President's diction and delivery have improved, as has the style, though it dragged a little toward the end with repetition. The one sentence which reached a truly high level was "We seek the unity of man with the world he has built." The passage which was most revealing and touching, amid so much that was corn, came when Mr. Johnson said the President's hardest task was not to do what was right but to know what was right. "Yet," he added sadly, "the Presidency brings no special gift of prophecy or foresight." This was the man himself speaking.

No Mention of The Arms Race

In the sphere of foreign policy, the Inaugural recalled the cautious Eisenhower more than the combative Kennedy. Mr. Johnson is taking up where Eisenhower left off with the U-2 incident. His invitation to the new Russian leaders to visit here, communicated in advance of delivery to the Soviet Embassy, opens the door to that first Presidential visit to Russia which Ike originally discussed with Khrushchev at Camp David. The Communist menace, that standby of the past two decades, was subtly subordinated at least in Eastern Europe to "older and deeper sources" of world unrest. "In Asia," Mr. Johnson said, "communism wears a more aggressive face." We hope the time will come when U.S. policy recognizes that the more aggressive face we see in the Far East is in substantial degree the mirror image of the aggressive face we steadily turn toward it. The friendlier face in Eastern Europe is largely a reflection of our own. The discussion of Vietnam continued the sham that we are only there to help a friendly nation against outside aggression, but mercifully it was brief and left the door open for more flexible policy in the future. The one distressing and perhaps historic omission was the absence of any reference to the arms race; we have settled down comfortably to our annual $50 billion dollar pump-priming war expenditures and Mr. Johnson is not one to disturb the comforts of the status quo. His is a prudent and peripheral idealism.

The Potential for Peace

The latest Louis Harris poll (Washington Post, Dec. 28) shows how strong is the potential support the President can muster if he moves toward peace. The poll showed: people favor negotiations with the Communists almost 3-to-1; 83% favor the test ban treaty with Russia and 74% would negotiate a world-wide ban to include Communist China; by more than two to one, people oppose war with China or Cuba, and only 9% think war inevitable. On policy toward the new Russian leaders: 55% were for trying to negotiate with them, 13% favored "getting tougher," 32% wanted to wait and see. Peace was the biggest issue of concern (65%) followed by race problems (43%) jobs and prosperity (26%). Only 7% thought "Socialism, Communism at home," the mainstay of the witch hunters a No. 1 concern.

This was evident in his domestic program. He recalled—in his buoyant optimism about U.S. business—the inaugural of Herbert Hoover, which promised two cars in every garage and two chickens in every pot. There was the same naive confidence that our business civilization is the best of all possible worlds, which needs only to be cleaned up around the edges to become the Great Society. The most revealing passage was the President's call for "a new and substantial effort . . . to landscape highways"—those highways onto which General Motors and Ford can pour ever more cars at the fabulous 20% or more they earn on net worth. But what happens to prosperity when these roads are hopelessly clogged? There was no recognition in the Inaugural of those tougher problems before us if full employment is to be achieved in the shadow of automation and profit-maximizing administrative prices in our basic industries. Mr. Johnson spoke of "relentlessly" pursuing "the conquest of space." This makes new millionaires in Houston but there is still

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UN's New Resolution Offers A Peaceful Way Out of the Congo Civil War . . .

The ideal solution for the Congo would be a United Nations trusteeship administered by the non-aligned nations; it is obviously unready for independence and self-government. But the Africans would never accept this. The second best solution would be an agreement between East and West to keep hands off the Congo while the African states bring into being a government of national reconciliation to hold fresh elections when its various rebellions have died down. The Congo needs Western technicians and Western capital; these now operate in other independent African States; they could operate safely in the Congo, too, were the Western powers honestly to keep hands off and end their constant intervention in Congolese politics.

The Usual Vendetta Spirit

The resolution on the Congo passed by the Security Council at the close of the year, after three weeks of acrid debate, could be the framework for such a new start. As usual, the spirit of East-West vendetta has obscured the constructive aspects. Our press has focused on the Western victory in amending the original resolution to take out of it the condemnation of the Western powers for the Stanleyville operation. The rest of the resolution is being dismissed in a tide of cynical inspired stories.

But to treat the resolution as nugatory is to increase distrust of the Western powers in Africa, and disillusion with the UN. The resolution was passed 10-0, only France abstaining. The U.S. and Britain voted for it. Will their governments treat that vote as an empty gesture in an international comedy, or will public opinion in both countries force them to pay some attention to the action pledged? The resolution, wisely considered, offers the West the advantage of putting the Congo up to the Organization of African Unity. It appeals for a cease-fire in accord with the OAU's resolution of last Sept. 10; it requests all States to desist from intervention while the OAU pursues its efforts to achieve a government of national reconciliation and—most important of all, as a token of good faith—it "considers" in accordance with that same OAU resolution "that the mercenaries should as a matter of urgency be withdrawn from the Congo."

Just A Fine Bunch of Fellows

"One may also hope he has heard the last slurring reference in the UN and elsewhere to the 'white mercenaries.' Without them, God help the Congo."

—Editorial in the Washington Star, Jan. 3.

ABC's Moloney: There are a lot of allegations made against the mercenaries. I've heard stories about some of them having committed atrocities . . .

Major Hoare (leader of those who took Stanleyville): No, completely untrue . . .

Moloney: Well, one last night told me that he had burned two villages because two of his men had been killed in an attack. How would you defend this?

Major Hoare: Yes. Well, now it's a question of how we define atrocities. . . . The burning of villages, this is punishment, and I'm entirely in favor, when it is required of punishing the rebels in this manner. . . .

ABC's Peters: Wally, how do you feel when you're out there fighting? How do you feel about killing anyone?

Harper (a South African mercenary): The first time I felt a bit squeamish, but after that it was like, well I'd done a lot of cattle farming you know, and killing a lot of beasts, it's just like, you know, cattle farming, and just seeing dead beasts all over the place. It didn't worry me at all."

—ABC-TV show on mercenaries, Dec. 9.

This is the neuralgic point. These white hired killers, mostly from South Africa and Rhodesia, have sown a terrible bitterness in Africa by their racist brutality in support of the Kasavubu-Tshombe regime. That Tshombe, in Leopoldville, as earlier in the Katanga, has to depend upon such whites for his maintenance of power robs him of all legitimacy in African eyes. The blacks feel about these mercenaries exactly as Jews feel about the Nazis at Auschwitz. It is essential that this be understood if a peaceful way out is to be found.

The obverse is that without these mercenaries the Kasavubu-Tshombe regime cannot maintain itself in power. Tshombe and Kasavubu have already declared that they will not accept the UN resolution. Their defiance is only possible as long as they have U.S., British and Belgian support. What

Brazil Provides An Ironic Footnote on Wars of National Liberation

Joint U.S.-Latin American war games were held last month in Peru. The Chilean government declined to let its army participate. Chile, with one eye on Brazil, fears a fresh rise of militarism in the hemisphere. The purpose of the maneuvers was to teach Latin regimes how to deal with "wars of national liberation." Unfortunately such wars are rarely suppressed by military means. A wiser policy is not to provoke them.

Brazil threatens to become a pilot model in how to brew a future uprising. There the military dictatorship has just given the Hanna Mining Company and Bethlehem Steel concessions they had sought in vain from the predecessor democratic regimes. For five years both the moderate Left and the Nationalist right (including Lacerda, the favorite Brazilian of Readers Digest) opposed the efforts of the Hanna Company's George H. Humphrey to obtain control of rich iron ore deposits.

A week before Castelo Branco, the new Brazilian military dictator, signed the decree Humphrey wanted, the Alliance for Progress announced it would make available $450 million to Brazil in 1965. Humphrey was Ike's Secretary of the Treasury and Goldwater's most influential supporter. Yet he seems to do better under the Democrats. The "give-away" policies his candidate deplored have bought Humphrey concessions in Brazil its own Congress had refused to grant. Such are the wonders which foreign aid, it its mysterious ways, can perform.

In April we will hold the Second Special Inter-American Conference in Brazil. It is to deal with "human rights and measures to strengthen democracy in the hemisphere." The site would seem to be well chosen, since many of Brazil's leading statesmen and intellectuals have been proscribed, jailed or exiled by its military, were it not that the purpose is to deal with Cuba not Brazil. Its Foreign Minister (Reuters in Washington Post, Dec. 29) looks favorably on allowing a Cuban government in exile to establish itself on Brazilian soil. The military who destroyed democracy in Brazil would then, by an exquisite turn of fate, provide the base for restoring democracy in Cuba, or if not democracy at least United Fruit.

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. . . Will We Abide By It or Go On Playing Cloak-and-Dagger Games In Africa?

happens will be determined not in Leopoldville but in Washington.

Even with mercenaries the Kasavubu-Tshombe regime cannot maintain itself; there just are not enough killers for hire on the market to hold down an area as large as Western Europe. They can take cities but they cannot control the countryside. Neither Tshombe's Kantanga gendarmes nor Kasavubu's NATO-trained army has proved capable of fighting. Either the U.S. goes in with its own forces, or it disengages. "Only by choosing to disengage from the internal affairs of the Congo," says an editorial in *Africa Today* (Dec. '64), organ of the American Committee on Africa, "can the U.S. emerge from this crisis with honor and continue to act as an influence for progress and development in Africa." We agree.

U. S. Now The Senior Partner

But it would be naive to expect so sharp a turn in national policy to be easily achieved. In four years the Congo, with its riches and its strategic importance, has been converted under cover of a UN operation from a Belgian to an American sphere of influence. U.S. capital was junior partner before to Belgian and British interests; we are the senior partner today.

The murder of Lumumba, the one leader who might have held the Congo together; the substitution of a scarcely veiled military dictatorship in Leopoldville for parliamentary rule; the transformation of that frightened and insipid clown, Mobutu, into a synthetic military strong man; the long delay in driving Tshombe out of the Katanga and his reappearance as the head of the whole Congo—all this can be traced back to the wire-pullings of Washington, London and Brussels. The CIA regards the Congo as one of its major successes, as may be seen from the boastful account given in Andrew Tully's *CIA: The Inside Story* (pages 219-29), which hails the Leopoldville operation as a triumph of U.S. operatives.

The pro-Western Indian newspaperman, Frank Moraes, whose *Report on Mao's China* several years ago delighted Western propagandists, interviewed Lumumba a few weeks before his murder. "The real problem," Moraes quotes Lumumba in his new book *The Importance of Being Black: An Asian Looks at Africa* (Macmillan), "is the problem of the great powers, who do not want a united and neutral Congo. The West does not want leaders like me, who want to be neutral. The West only wants a Chief of State 100 percent under its guidance." Moraes' own first-rate summary of the tangled Congolese story concludes that "Tshombe's return to the Congo, with the support and connivance of his Western friends, must intensify the cold war in that territory."

If U.S. policy continues along these lines, the Congo may yet forge a sense of nationhood in years of guerrilla struggle against the puppet governments we try to impose. These confused, ill-armed and primitive bands may learn the hard way the facts of modern life, and the new guises that imperialism may assume. Inevitably they will turn for help to China, as the country with kindred views of the Western powers. These and wider war are the risks ahead if we do not disengage now. The heart of Africa is a dangerous place to play cloak-and-danger games.

Remember How Solomon Picked The True Mother?

"Vinh Long, South Vietnam, Jan. 2 — The Communist Viet Cong have extended blanket immunity to American civilians, especially those engaged in cultural and economic activities in South Vietnam. Intercepted instructions to guerrilla units in the Mekong Delta say that whenever American civilians are captured, they are to be released with an explanation it was all a mistake and that the Communists have no quarrel with them or their work in South Vietnam.

"The Communists in the past have shown a decided unwillingness to damage or destroy this country's physical assets. For example, whenever they attack the railroad running from Saigon north to the demarcation line, they are careful not to blow bridges or otherwise damage the roadbed beyond repair."

—Jim Lucas in Washington Daily News, Jan. 2.

A War of Liberation in Which The Liberators Are Not Accustomed to Be Welcomed

There were rewarding insights to be found in press coverage of the battle which raged for several days recently around the village of Binh Ghia in South Vietnam. One sentence, in an AP dispatch (Washington Star, Dec. 30), lit up the truth about this war as if in a lightning flash. It said that when the village was retaken by government forces, "The marines, used to sullen receptions from villagers in Viet Cong-controlled areas, looked puzzled by the enthusiastic welcome."

This village was different because settled by Catholic refugees from the North.* "We are friendly because we hate the Communists," the same dispatch quotes one villager as shouting. A headline over the Washington Post account (Jan. 2) said, "Little Catholic Town of Binh Ghia Still Paying Dearly For Its Faith." It doesn't seem to have done too badly.

This was the fourth Viet Cong incursion into this village since the war began. In counter guerrilla action, as in Vietnam and the Congo, villages thought to be hostile are wiped out. We bombard first and ask questions afterward. But as one of the anti-Communist villagers related in the same AP story in the Star Dec. 30, "All Monday night we argued with the Viet Cong commander to leave us alone . . . we were so furious we fought the man with our fists and feet. . . . They just laughed and ridiculed us." Ridicule hurts, but not as much as napalm.

As a Catholic anti-Communist village, Binh Ghia was given favored treatment by our side. "Much less heavy firepower than usual was used in the attacks on Viet Cong emplacements," the AP reported in the Baltimore Sun Dec. 31, because of the danger to the anti-Communist villagers." The Washington Post story Jan. 2 said, "The Vietnamese Air Force skyraiders carefully limited their attack to Viet Cong positions outside the town." We are not usually so tender with villages held by the Viet Cong.

* Few Americans realize the extent to which the war in South Vietnam has depended on such Catholic villages of refugees from the North. This minority was the main support of the Diem regime. For those who would understand this more fully we recommend an article by Robert Scheer "Hang Down Your Head, Tom Dooley" in the progressive Catholic magazine *Ramparts* for Jan.-Feb. (1182 Chestnut St., Menlo Park, Calif., 75¢) which deals with a story no other American publication has had the courage to tell fully—the extent to which this from the beginning has been Cardinal Spellman's war.

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The Inaugural Failed to Make An Appeal Against Racism

(Continued from Page One)

nothing "relentless" about the magnitude of his war on poverty. Even doubled, as promised, it will hardly mean a billion dollars a year in new money. This is the program of a moderate conservative Democrat, offering fringe benefits to the less privileged sectors of society. In the politics of consensus a little for the poor makes it easier to go on giving a lot to the rich.

The Old Tory Coalition Now A Minority

The most important promise here is the beginnings of medicare. The huge Democratic majority now makes this possible. The vote in the House against shelving the rules reform showed that the coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats has lost control. Though only 16 Republicans voted for the new rules, and the South was solid for the old, the vote was 224 to 201 for the change. This vote is the true index to the shift of power, and clears the way for the President's moderate social reform program. The rules changes themselves were in keeping with this program; the reform was minimal. It gave the Speaker power, through the 21-day rule and two lesser changes, to override recalcitrant committee chairmen, especially in the Rules committee. But it does not give greater power to the *hoi polloi* on the floor. It is the Speaker and the party leadership which decides when to utilize these devices.

That there is a potential for more drastic action in the rank-and-file membership was indicated when two dozen rose with Congressman Wm. Fitts Ryan of New York to challenge the election of the Mississippi delegation and 148 voted not to seat them, an extraordinary vote for the Negro and the Mississippi Freedom Party. This should stimulate the taking of depositions on how white supremacy procedures prevent honest elections in the deep South, and the size of the vote will make it harder for the privileges and elections committee to bury the challenge. For the first time since Reconstruction, the Negro from the deep South made his appearance on Capitol Hill, still outside the door but definitely on his way in.

Alexander Meiklejohn

We record with sorrow the death at 92 of Alexander Meiklejohn, one of the great Americans of our time. As an educator, his influence was not limited to Brown, Amherst and Wisconsin. He taught us all by his presence and example. Few men have combined such deep conviction with such courtesy towards opposing points of view, such foreboding about man's fate with so sweet a serenity and so ever-fresh a joy. He was a philosopher in the ancient sense; his concerns were the good life and the good society. For him as an American, the First Amendment was the essence of all that is best in our country and he spoke up for it when many were afraid to speak. Fittingly, his last message was a letter protesting the contempt action brought by the House Un-American Activities Committee against Dagmar Wilson, Donna Allen and Russ Nixon. His was never "a fugitive and cloistered virtue." We will always remember him with love.

To watch the Mississippi Negroes arrive in their rickety buses, chilled but eager, in the darkness before a downtown church the night before was to see an oppressed people pressing at last for justice. The most disappointing thing in the Inaugural was the absence of any appeal against the spirit of racism; the few meager words about the right to vote were no substitute. In such great challenges lie the birth of great societies, and Mr. Johnson's failure to give this the lofty word it deserved made his own vision of a Great Society seem little more than a middle class suburbanite dream. The whole world would have applauded if America had opened the doors of Congress, at least for opening day, to the three women from Mississippi. An ugly Nazi clown, insulting the Negro, was able to get through the strict security, but not the three women challengers. Of all that was said on opening day, history may best remember Mrs. Fannie Hamer's bitter words outside the door. "Mississippi Negroes are excluded from everything except hanging," she said as she was turned away. "Someday we want to be able to teach our children that this really is a democracy." Here is the real blueprint for that greater society.

IFS to Speak on Peace in Southeast Asia Before the Washington Ethical Society in the Dupont Theatre, Connecticut Ave. near Dupont Circle, 10:45 a.m. Sunday, January 10

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